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Our jimcrow army gets a Carolina Fuehrer

PAGE 5

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
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Vol. I, No. 35 NEW YORK, N. Y., JUNE 13, 1949

Is America going fascist?

"CIVIL SERVANTS who by their previous political conduct do not afford assurance that they will at all times identify themselves without reserve with the national state, may be discharged from the service. The provisions regarding civil servants are equally applicable to employees and workers."

Quoting the above in a comment on the "gag laws" adopted in New Jersey in April, lawyer-editor Thomas F. Ogilvie continues in the Atlantic City Jersey Times: "(This) is part of a statute passed in 1933—not in New Jersey but in Germany." New Jersey's new statutes, he added, "go further" than the Nazi one.

The gag-law developments under way in 34 states, summarized on page 3, are of the profoundest importance to every American.

WHILE the spotlight rest on the gag-law drive in Washington, where even the N.Y. Herald Tribune says the "hue and cry" is "all of it quite disproportionate," the process of making the U. S. Constitution a joke continues apace in state legislatures, where mobilization against it is often too little or too late.

In some states the repressive measures have been defeated, in others they are already law. In 14 they are still pending.

In each case the state legislation folows the pattern set nationally by President Truman's loyalty order, Atty. Gen. Clark's list of "subversive organizations," and the bill fathered by Sen. Karl Mundt, formerly of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

In each case, as might be expected, the lead in the fight against thought-control has been taken by two "subversive" organizations: the Civil Rights Congress and the Progressive Party.

THE "hue and cry" is said to be against communism. In fact it is against an ancient American custom: thinking, and speaking one's thoughts. Most GUARDIAN readers know this: the legislators concerned, even if they know what "communism" means, are not interested in defining it.

One of them in Florida admitted: "It's the fellow-travelers we're after" (i.e., all who fail to condemn everything the Communist Party does). Another in Arkansas named "pinks and fellow-travelers" as the target. Another in New Jersey said Progressive Party members are "the same as Communists" and will be prosecuted under the new law.

If you still doubt that the very process of independent thinking is in immediate danger, study Hitler's statute and recall German history. When you have read page 3 please let us know what you and your organization are doing to protect your right to think.

—THE EDITORS

The Japanese had no further use for these cannon, made of U. S. scrap sent to Japan ten years ago, so they sent them back to us. The cannon will be resmelted at the Kaiser plant at Fontana, Calif.—perhaps to be made into new cannon and shipped again to Japan to help "contain communism" in the Far East.

4 U.S. working stiffs take a look at Europe

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THE MAILBAG

The other side

NEW YORK, N. Y.

To the succession of progressives who clamor for "the other side"—I recommend Barrows Dunham's **Man Against Myth.** The reading of the section, "It is a myth that there are two sides to every question," would enable them to settle back and enjoy a rare presentation of facts in GUARDIAN. If they question these facts it will be salutary to dig for logical dissent.

This is a country of myth. It is kept so by the established practice of debating the "right" to despoil and tyrannize.

Any dissenters enter the lists with facts.

Dorothy Butler Howells

Our daily bread

ERWIN, TENN.

In re your article of May 16, "The Brannan Price Plan," don't crow too soon, brothers. Even now the AAA organization is, in the mountain countries at least, sending out questionnaires to ascertain if we have planted any wheat and to persuade us to cut down our wheat crops (economy of scarcity stuff still in the saddle?)

Also I suspect all the wheat data Washington is busy collecting is for the prime benefit of grain speculators, not farmers nor bread-buyers.

John Q. Hillbilly

A little needling

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Enclosed find a list of 75 addresses and names to whom our club wants you to send the May 2 edition.

As rank and file members of the ILGWU (AFL) who have no access to our own union's paper, we hope that the GUARDIAN will print material we send in the near future pertaining to the garment industry. And we also hope that during the coming election campaign in the ILGWU you will give the rank and file struggle for democracy in our union and our fight to eliminate gangsterism in our industry ample coverage.

Joe Edelman
ALP Skirt & Sportswear Club

A word from Wallace

BROOKSVILLE, FLA.

I am keenly interested in the success of your GUARDIAN, and would like to urge that you have a word from Henry A. Wallace in every issue.

Raymond Robins

Readers may recall that on election night Henry Wallace read to the radio audience a letter from Col. Robins urging him to keep up the fight and make President Truman live up to his campaign promises. Col. Robins was American Red Cross representative in Russia at the time of the Revolution, and unofficial American liaison with the Lenin government. Ed.

Strange, tired look

ALTO, MICH.

Unemployment is building up. A trip into Grand Rapids yesterday proved that to me. The lines at the Unemployment Compensation offices are growing. I talked with a few of the men in the crowd on the sidewalk, and there is fear and uncertainty in their minds.

Of course there is a large number of colored men among them. As one colored man told me, the Negro is the first one to feel a depression. He had worked five years in one place and now was out of work. On street corners were groups of with strange tired looks in their faces, comparing job hunting experiences with each other. The trek of job hunters is on.

Ray Matthews

She says yes . . .

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I have been reading your paper and getting all my friends to read it.

However we all feel that the GUARDIAN should be a more all-around paper. It should include columns on movies, sports, radio and some news about progressive talent.

Mildred Sloan

. . . he says no

SCAPPOOSE, OREGON

Don't let the mamelukes persuade you to infest the GUARDIAN with dry-rot features, such as sports, stamp collecting or bread puddin' recipes!

Vincent Noga

Karnow confirmed

LE LAVANDOU (VAR)
France

I motored through Spain a short time before Stanley Karnow did. I have been impressed by the accuracy and insight of his articles. They set a good standard for the rest of the American press to follow.

Barney Rodgers

They want a 'No'

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Millions of people have been waiting with prayers in their hearts for an agreement between East and West on the explosive question of Germany at the Four Power Conference in Paris. But does our government really want an agreement? With unbelievable cynicism this United Press dispatch from Paris gives the answer:

PARIS, May 30 (UP)—The three Western powers have secret hopes that Russia will reject their proposal for a united Germany when the Council of Foreign Ministers reconvenes this afternoon. ". . . It is an open secret that the Western powers prefer to continue with two Germanys — the Western zone federal state already created and the Eastern zone occupied by Russia—for the time being. Although the Western powers made an offer for uniting the two halves last Saturday, they attached enough conditions to make it almost certain that the Russians will reject it."

Martin Hall

Prophet in the land

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Events have proved Henry Wallace the greatest prophet of all times. His was the voice crying in the wilderness, warning labor and alleged liberals that unless our reactionary foreign policy was changed, the hollow promises of Taft-Hartley repeal, civil rights, housing, air-tight rent control and other social reforms would be doomed to failure.

Gregory Varhol

Belfrage vs. Tories

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I have read Cedric Belfrage's books and introduced them to many of my friends. It is what we need. I wish, fervently, that we had more such writers of progressive convictions, and millions more readers. Then the Tories would be stopped dead in their tracks.

Barbara Nestor

Causes of health

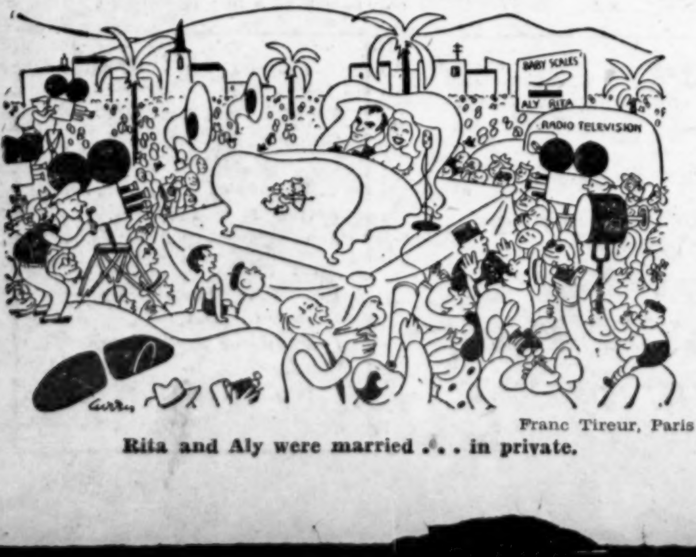
PHOENIX, ARIZ.

Of the newspapers I have seen, none rates more highly than the GUARDIAN.

The one real complaint that I have to lodge with you is the distinct disservice which you do your readers by paying lip-service to the stupid and insane policies and practices of so-called medical "science and research." To expect the American Medical Assn., together with their brothers in crime, the drug and patent medicine interests and the funds (TB, Polio, Cancer, Arthritis, Scelerosis, etc.) and their researchers to produce a cure for disease is comparable to an appeal to the National Assn. of Manufacturers or the U. S. Chamber of Commerce to effect a cure for depression and war. The above remarks are not directed against the practice of surgery.

To those of your readers who might be interested in attaining health by practicing the causes of health, I would like to suggest a subscription to Dr. H. M. Shelton's **Hygienic Review,** P. O. Box 1277, San Antonio, Texas, and also a study of his seven volumes of "The Hygienic System."

R. A. Brown



Franc Tireur, Paris

Rita and Aly were married . . . in private.

Jennings Perry

Shine, little glow-worm

SOMETIMES you can see a conscience stirring in Congress. Those are the nice times. The care the Senate has taken to assure that the Central Intelligence Agency will not operate inside the United States is an instance of conscience — a rather oblique instance, but I will accept it.

The CIA has just been authorized by law to trade U.S. citizenship to foreigners who will spy on their governments for us. This is a pretty dirty piece of business.

It is apparent that the new citizens we get on such a deal will not be choice ones. The Senate voted the authorization but insisted the business be done far away and out of sight—a delicacy in which we may detect at least the semblance of remorse.

OF COURSE this is not quite the same thing as the forthright opposition to the measure put up by Rep. Vito Marcantonio in the House. What Mr. Marcantonio refuses to concede is that a shabby thing does not touch us if we do it on the other side of the world but not at home. He fears we cannot wash our hands of it really.

I daresay he is right. Our tendency to spread our immunities lavishly upon any and all telltales and turncoats volunteering to prattle in the spy dramas currently in vogue here already has been remarked. It is no great leap from this sort of bribery to the sort we are going to have the CIA do under the distant rose.

The Senate was splitting hairs, but I am glad it felt it ought to.

AS FOR Mr. Marcantonio's protest in the House, as long as one voice—if only one—is capable of indignation toward acts that compromise our ancient moralities, we should cheer it.

The fact is, other voices in the House have now begun to raise the wind of righteous caution. I refer to those 91 members who have moved a resolution which would reassert the faith of Congress in the United Nations, and project a purpose in our foreign policy toward a world federation with plenary powers to preserve the peace.

This plainly is an antidotal movement proceeding from a genuine concern over our divisive and warlike pranking with the Atlantic Pact. The Pact itself is where the representatives cannot reach it: it is the State Department's baby on the Senate's step. The House will have a chance to put a finger on it only when the munitions makers come in for their money. Meanwhile, these representatives have not been able to conceal their squeamishness, and that is good to see.

SOME cheers for them and their initiative! For we've been making Moloch-faces at the window long enough.

The world should not misjudge us. The 13-0 accord of Tom Connally's committee on the A-Pact is deceptive. There is no comparable unanimity among the American people for withdrawing their trust from the great cooperative peace efforts into a new military alliance—as brittle as it is bristling.

The resolution of the 91 House members reflects more than their own disquietude. Though yet a small glow, it represents the ardent will-to-peace of millions in our nation who perceive that our foreign policy has been turned aside from the high road into the war path—and sense in this departure the betrayal of our hopes and our promises.

China rally

Agnes Smedley, noted author and lecturer, will speak at the first rally for American friendship with the new China Wednesday evening, June 15, at 8 at the City Center Casino, 135 West 55th St., New York. The rally is being sponsored by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern policy.

Other speakers will include Henry Pratt Fairchild; Israel Epstein, authority on the Far East; Liu Liang-mo, early leader of the Chinese student movement. Pete Seeger & Co. will sing. Tickets are at the Committee: 111 W. 42d St., BRyant 9-6342.

Is America heading for fascism?

The answer to the headline is "Yes" — unless you do something about it now. Below we have rounded up the drive toward thought control through repressive legislation in almost half the states of the Union. In many cases we had not received, at deadline time, full information about the fight against this legislation. Let us know what you and your organizations are doing. We want to tell the rest of the country about it.

MARYLAND

The first police state in the United States

ON March 16 this year Maryland became America's first police state with passage of the Ober Bill—the toughest statute of its kind in the country, providing penalties up to 20 years' imprisonment and $20,000 fines. It outlaws "subversive" organizations in language so broad its opponents charge that Catholic and Jewish organizations could come under the head of "dominated by a foreign power." Under it, all public and some private institutions must conduct loyalty checks of their officers and members. All candidates for public office must file affidavits that they are not "subversive."

The bill was drafted with the advice

of Sen. Karl Mundt and Robert Stripling, former chief investigator for the Un-American Committee; the preamble was copied largely from the Mundt bill. Its prime mover (although it bears the name of Baltimore lawyer Frank Ober) is State Senator Wilmer C. Carter, Baltimore insurance broker, who after hearing a former FBI agent speak on "Communist Infiltration" at a Kiwanis luncheon took a vow to fight communism for the rest of his life. All strangers to him are communists until proved otherwise. He would not talk to a Washington **Post** reporter until he checked credentials. "Maybe you're a Commie," he said. His next question was: "Are you Jewish?"

EXPENSIVE POLISH. Fired with his mission, Carter spent a year and thousands of dollars polishing the bill and lining up support for it. He and his backers worked faster and harder than their progressive opposition. The vote for the bill in the State Senate was unanimous; in the House of Delegates it was 115 to 1. The lone dissenter was quite timid. He said: "I humbly believe this bill will do more harm than good."

Last week the Citizens' Committee Against the Ober Law turned in 8,461 signatures to a petition calling for a referendum on the measure. A total of 10,000 is required before July 1. Two court actions against the law are in process; one is a taxpayers' suit filed by 10 citizens, the other was brought by state leaders of the Communist Party.

ILLINOIS

The Broyles bills seem doomed for the session

Six repressive bills fathered by State Sen. Broyles looked as if they were headed for defeat last week; opposition had mounted steadily for weeks and one newspaper reported the measures would be positively vetoed even if passed. The bills would jail for five years persons convicted of being communists; dismiss teachers advocating communist ideas; ban from the ballot and from appointive office persons holding "subversive" beliefs; require signed disavowals of "communist ideas" from legislators; deny unemployment insurance, pensions, etc., to communists and sympathizers.

Coincident with hearings on the bills was a Seditious Activities Commission probe of the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College, with J. B. Matthews, ex-investigator for the Dies Committee, running the show and Benjamin Gitlow, ex-Communist and professional informer, doing the research. Chief witness was Howard Rushmore, Hearst reporter specializing in Red scares.

STILL A STINKER. Leading educators routed the investigators. Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of the U. of C. said: "The miasma of thought control that is now spreading over the country is the greatest menace to the United States since Hitler."

Prof. Harold C. Urey, threatened by Matthews with Tom Clark's list of subversive organizations, retorted: "Such designation by the Attorney General is one of the most dangerous things in American life. . . . I hold the right to assert my own opinions about associations." Yes, he had been associated with "the committee that sought to aid the Spanish Loyalists." He threw in for good measure: "Franco is still a stinker."

The investigators were beaten. They passed on to the State Assembly the transcript of testimony without a recommendation. A resolution declaring the investigated schools to be "exonerated of any stigma arising from this investigation" was introduced.

CALIFORNIA

Tenney the investigator going to be investigated

California's State Senate last week voted Jack B. Tenney its choice as the subversive-chaser most likely to lose his portfolio after J. Parnell Thomas.

Specifically, the state body decided without a single dissenting vote to investigate Senator Tenney's employment at fabulous public expense of a professional smear sheet editor as an ex-

pert for his Un-American Activities Investigating Committee.

And, irked beyond endurance at Tenney's clumsy red-baiting of Democratic and Republican leaders, as well as Communists, labor officials and progressives, the Senate appeared likely to ask California's pioneer in the "Dies Committee" field here to step down from his chairmanship of the state committee.

A LONG RECORD. Under attack with Tenney is his aide, Edward H. Gibbons, co-editor of **Alert**, a mimeographed weekly bulletin retailing at fancy prices to well-heeled victims of anti-red hysteria.

Gibbons, with a long record of professional smear jobs in the labor and political movements of Southern California, has been drawing $200 a week through Tenney's committee.

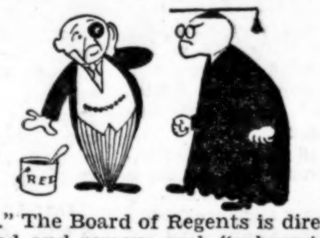
Besides helping Tenney write his forthcoming annual opus on what's red in California, Gibbons has been lobbying in the state capital for Tenney's 13-bill "Loyalty Oath" program.

Legislators at all inquisitive about the program have been methodically found "guilty by association" of subversive thinking and activity in Gibbons' **Alert**.

NEW YORK

The teachers battle 'thought control' bill

In April the Feinberg Bill became law. The measure makes a "legislative finding" that "there is common report that members of subversive groups, and particularly of the Communist Party and certain of its affiliated organizations, have infiltrated into public employment in the public schools of this



state." The Board of Regents is directed to find and remove such "subversives." Atty. Gen. Tom Clark's list of organizations he calls subversive is suggested as a guide. The law becomes effective July 1.

On July 3 the Teachers Union (CIO) launched a drive to repeal the measure with a rally attended by 2,500 persons in New York City's Carnegie Hall. Jennings Perry, columnist, told the rally: "The issue is whether we in America are going to try to proscribe inquiry by law. . . . The whole thesis of democracy is that there is no 'official' wisdom capable of supplanting the wisdom of the people."

NEW JERSEY

'Loyalty' bills passed without a single hearing

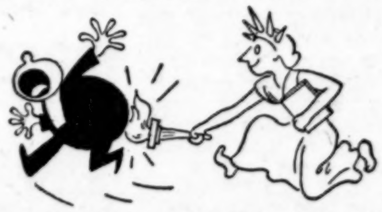
Early in April both houses of the State Legislature unanimously adopted five loyalty oath bills applying to all public employees. No hearings were held on the legislation. When spectators who crowded the Senate galleries during the bills' passage shouted, "We demand public hearings!", state troopers forcibly removed 50 of them. The Newark **Evening News** quoted Sen. Farley to the effect that those who refuse to take the oath should go back to Russia.

Sen. O'Mara was quoted as being "'disgusted, nauseated and sickened' by the action of people who should know better stalking through the legislative halls and demanding public hearings on the bills."

MINNESOTA

Citizens' lobby defeats a super-Mundt bill

A House committee approved, 7 to 2, a Subversive Activities Control Act, copied in detail from the Maryland Ober Law, but determined opposition defeated it. A Citizens' Lobby mustered more than 500 persons who appeared at the State House to register disapproval. Backers of the measure included the American Legion and three Catholic lay organizations. Although a representative of the CIO spoke in behalf of the bill, state CIO president Glenn Peter-



son, speaking as an individual, denounced it as "worse than the Mundt-Nixon bill."

FLORIDA

'You believe in receiving the Negro in your home?'

Only because it maintained a constant vigil at the State House was the Progressive Party enabled to muster sufficient opposition to kill in committee a bill that would have outlawed not only the Communist Party but "any other party, group, or organization" that might have been judged within the scope of the legislation. Although efforts were made to act on the bill in committee without public hearings, the Progressive Party succeeded in getting five minutes each for five speakers against the measure. One legislator asked one witness: "Do you believe in receiving the Negro in your home and letting him marry your daughter?"

OHIO

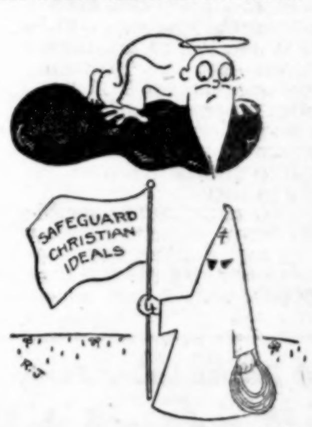
Repressive bill may get through the legislature

Although public protest succeeded in bottling up repressive legislation in the State Senate, last week a House committee in a surprise move approved a similar measure and sent it to the floor for action. At earlier hearings the Progressive Party mobilized 400 persons to oppose the bill. Both AFL and CIO representatives spoke against it. The Cleveland Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild warned it "will make of Ohio a police state." Influential Ohio newspapers editorialized against it. But there is still a danger it might become law.

MASSACHUSETTS

You'd have a hard time daring to think here

Last year several thought-control bills were defeated. This year similar ones have been re-introduced. One would "prevent the teaching of atheistic communism and safeguard the Christian ideals of American education." Another would bar from the ballot "any



person who is found to be a member of any organization named as a subversive organization by the Attorney-General of the United States." A third would bar from public employment anyone "who by speech or in writing advocates its (the Communist Party's) doctrines."

ELSEWHERE

There's plenty of dough around for witch hunters

In two states, **NORTH CAROLINA** and **KANSAS**, bills modeled after the indictment of the Communist Party leaders have been introduced. These would prohibit membership in "organizations advocating or teaching the overthrow of the government."

In **PENNSYLVANIA** a bill has been introduced to establish a State Un-American Investigating Committee with an appropriation of $100,000.

In **GEORGIA** a law adopted this year requires all elected officials and state employees, including teachers, to take an oath that "I am not a member of the Communist Party and that I have no sympathy for the doctrines of Communism and will not lend my aid, my support, my advice, my counsel nor my influence to the Communist Party or to the teachings of Communism."

Similar bills requiring such oaths from teachers in public schools, colleges and universities, and in some cases students as well, have been introduced in the legislatures of Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Nebraska and New Hampshire.

Soviet anti-semitism: a lie

By Marcelle Hitschmann

NATIONAL GUARDIAN asked Dr. Nahum Goldmann, chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency, what he thought about "anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union."

Dr. Goldmann said that "anti-Zionism and anti-religionism, which make equal victims of Jews, Catholics and Protestants," are growing in Eastern Europe. There was ample reason to complain about the dissolution of Zionist parties and religious Jewish schools, and the increasing difficulties placed in the way of emigration to Israel. "But it would be wrong to regard anti-Semitism as the basis for these regrettable tendencies.

"On the contrary, there is evidence that the governments of these countries are vigorously fighting anti-Semitism in their own peoples."

INDIGNANT, YES. The "Soviet anti-Semitism" campaign broke out like a typhus epidemic in the April 4 issue of **Newsweek.** That day Edward Weinthal wrote that anti-Semitism was rampant in the U. S. S. R.

Symptoms of the disease had already appeared in **Newsweek** a week earlier. Commenting upon Golda Myerson's retirement as Israeli Minister to Moscow, **Newsweek** claimed she was "indignant over treatment she received during her brief stay in Moscow." On April 1 Mrs. Myerson, who was still in Moscow, replied: "I am indeed indignant—not over anything I have met in the U. S. S. R., but with reports of correspondents who, either through sheer ignorance or wilful malice, report such things which are as absurd as they are unfounded."

She added: "Ever since the Israeli legation came to Moscow we met nothing but helpfulness and courtesy from everybody. . . . I feel almost inclined to believe that it is the cordial relations between the U. S. S. R. and Israel that leads some who are dissatisfied with this to publish such folly."

AJC APPEASEMENT. This Jewish Telegraphic Agency dispatch from Moscow was not given prominence in the local press, in which the "Soviet anti-Semitism" campaign was getting up steam.

Prominent in that campaign, as Tom O'Connor showed in a brilliant series of articles in the N. Y. **Daily Compass** May 24 to 31, was the American Jewish Committee, which groups the wealthiest and most conservative elements in U. S. Jewry.

Although the AJC's own figures show that identifying Jews with radicalism is the smallest of all sources of anti-Semitism, the AJC Executive Committee had instructed its staff in May, 1947, to "combat attempts of reactionary and Communist-minded groups alike, falsely and viciously to identify Jews and Communists." Early this year an AJC "specialists" group produced a report showing Communists to be anti-Semitic, which was sent to Executive Committee members as a "background memorandum" in April.

TIMES' SLIGHT ERROR. The Executive Committee was to discuss what to do with the material at its meeting in May; but the memorandum's authors started leaking parts of it to the press as far back as February. Beginning on April 3, when the **New York Post** reproduced **Newsweek's** article on "Soviet anti-Semitism," the **Post** and the **N.Y. Times** (which are among the few Jewish-owned dailies in the U. S.) led the fray.

On April 6 **Post** columnists Frank Kingdon and George Fielding Eliot wrote of the "foul sewer fumes" from Russia and of the Jews' "deadly peril" there.

On April 20 the **N. Y. Times** carried a story by Harry Schwartz, saying that Soviet cartoonists were using hook noses for their unpopular characters, and had juxtaposed the word "Zhid" (Jew) on commentator Lippman's name. The **Daily Worker** explained on April 26 that in this case "Zhid" was a transliteration of the French writer (Andre) Gide — who appeared in the said cartoon together with the names of other gentile writers. The **N. Y. Times** printed a reluctant correction of Schwartz's story, without mentioning his name, on page 23.

This "anti-Semitic" cartoon, by Boris Iefimov in Krokodil, was reprinted in Newsweek. It shows "cosmopolitan" literary critics attacking the gull—symbol of the Soviet theater. The beak is a tradition in Russian cartoons. Goebbels always got one. "Newsweek" did not note that the gull also had an "anti-Semitic" beak.

Frankfurter Rundschau

Mittwoch, 20. April 1949

Antisemitismus in der Sowjetunion

Von unserem dänischen W.BH.-Korrespondenten

KOPENHAGEN, 19. April.

Hitler would have loved this one. The clip, from the "Frankfurter Rundschau," U.S. zone German daily, says: "Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union"—no qualification. Similar stories are being spread all through the western zones of Germany.

HOT FROM LAUSANNE. Despite the retraction, **Newsweek** reproduced the same cartoon as "anti-Semitic" on May 2. It had just discovered that Soviet cartoonists traditionally use birds with long beaks to represent opponents.

The **Times** took up the campaign again on May 2, when Cyrus Sulzberger cabled from Lausanne, Switzerland, that "there have been recent rumors in Moscow that the Jewish theater there would be closed, but to date nothing has happened."

That same day the AJC distributed an official six-page release on the conclusions of its "intensive study of Jewish life in the Soviet Union and its satellite countries." The **N. Y. Post** editorialized on May 3: "Discrimination against Jews still flourishes in the country once identified with pogroms." On May 12 the **N. Y. Times'** Harry Schwartz said Soviet Jews were now being attacked for their "religion." Finally, from May 16 to 26 the **World-Telegram** ran its series on the subject by Frederic Woltman, rehashing and dramatizing the AJC material.

THE NEW STATE. Other writers and radio commentators became affected and soon the whole country was adding anti-Semitism to the long list of alleged Soviet crimes. When Dr. Nahum Goldmann, back from Israel, held a press conference on May 24 and refuted the charges, the **Times** suddenly was not interested in that topic.

It is known that anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union is a punishable crime. Why therefore was the hoax so successful?

Clearly it was connected with the birth of the state of Israel which happened between the planning of the AJC campaign and the time when it took shape. The Israeli cause was consistently supported by the Soviet Union in the UN.

A glance at a map is enough to make this point: no Mediterranean anti-Soviet "cordon sanitaire" can be organized as long as Israel maintains its neutrality and refuses to be dragged into the cold war.

Marcelle Hitschmann is GUARDIAN's UN correspondent and also of the Pakistan Times.

The British Labor Party conference

'Lot of blithering idiots gone barmy,' says Zilliacus

By Gordon Schaffer

BLACKPOOL, ENGLAND

(By Cable)

THE wheel seemed to have turned full circle at the annual Labor Party conference here, when left-wing Laborites Konni Zilliacus and Leslie Solley were formally expelled from the party for working for peace.

Just ten years ago Sir Stafford Cripps, Russell Strauss and Aneurin Bevan sat in the gallery at the conference—newly expelled for advocating a united front with Communists against fascism. Now they are the economics, supply and health ministers of His Majesty's government; Cripps is author of the recent budget continuing wage freezes and raising prices and profits.

At this conference a group of Labor MPs voiced the most impressive protest yet against Labor heresy-hunting. Barred from speaking at the conference, Zilliacus replied outside. He revealed that after a subcommittee of the Labor Executive had recognized him as official parliamentary candidate by nine votes to nil, Premier Attlee forced reversal of this decision. He will fight Gateshead (his present constituency) as an independent at the next election, against an official Labor nominee.

"I won't allow a third world war," said Zilliacus, "because a lot of blithering idiots have gone barmy about communism. The present leaders are putting anti-communism before peace."

SIR SVENGALI. Inside the conference Attlee, Cripps and Deputy Premier Herbert Morrison made carefully-prepared speeches while Party secretary Morgan Phillips arranged the agenda so that no embarrassing votes should be passed. (Labor Party conferences use the "card vote" system, one representative of each affiliated union or party unit casting the vote for the whole membership).

Despite protests, the conference—sovereign body of the labor movement—merely discussed election programs. The leaders are left with a virtually free hand to modify policy at will.

After 40 minutes of mesmerism by Cripps, delegates voted overwhelmingly for continuance of the wage freeze. The unanimity was artificial. Trade union leaders know that the current "Sunday strikes" on the railways are a symptom of growing unrest which won't abate while prices and profits remain unchecked.

CAN LABOR STICK? A general election cannot legally be delayed beyond July 1950. But a government that waits to the very end before facing the electors loses the initiative; and voices are now being raised in favor of an earlier appeal to the country, particularly since further Local Council successes by the Tories next spring would surround Labor with an atmosphere of defeat. An election before May 1950 might, however, mean sacrificing the steel nationalization bill now before the House of Lords.

Lord Strabolgi, kite-flying at the conference for an autumn election, referred to the danger of an American slump. Morrison retorted that he didn't share the view a slump was coming, but in subsequent debates delegates continually returned to this theme.

BRIEF ECSTASY. The rubber-stamp has been applied; the leaders go home joyfully. Rank and filers, who have to do the work in elections, know the enthusiasm that brought smashing victory in 1945 is lacking.

Zilliacus intends to form groups all over the country to force candidates to talk peace. Ellis Smith, one of the most popular MPs, talks of forming a socialist fellowship to bring the fighting spirit back to the Labor Party.

These moves are an expression of the deep-rooted anxiety at the way Labor leaders are going. The rank and file desperately fear a Tory victory; yet they will only respond to a policy that promises peace.

London Daily Worker

Attlee: "I feel better now that I have blown my brains out."

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Everybody's red

FOR each citizen, it seemed, there was a file card.

Some were classified as communists, some as followers of the line, some as Kremlin "couriers"; some "appeased the Communist program" in bygone years. Names were divulged by the hundreds last week. They ranged from Danny Kaye through Helen Keller to GUARDIAN's editor, Cedric Belfrage.

The intricate workings of the FBI were most clearly revealed during the trial of Judith Coplon in Washington. Early in the spring she had been arrested aboard a bus, seated next to a member of Russia's UN delegation, Valentin Gubitchev. She was charged with slipping top secrets to Gubitchev. Her defense suggested the two were in love. The government admitted she had not been caught handing anything over to the Russian; but in her handbag, it was said, were documents so secret that to divulge them might "endanger the nation's security."

Judge Albert L. Reeves, with a jaundiced eye for FBI melodrama, said: "If the reading of the report imperils the government, the government ought not to be here."

LEAFLET DISCOVERED. Defense attorney Archibald Palmer quietly read not only the notes on the report found in Miss Coplon's purse but the report from which they were taken. Secrets were to be bared. In a report headed "Criminal Division 100-91140-CTG," dated Jan. 13, 1949, this entry appeared:

"On Nov. 27, 1945, confidential informant ED 324 advised that he had observed a throw-away advertising a meeting to be held in Madison Square Garden on Dec. 4, 1945 at 8 p.m. This circular was headed 'Crisis coming, Atom Bomb—for Peace or War.' "

The secret report continued: "Confidential informant T-7 advised on Feb. 25, 1946, that the name of Florence Eldridge March (wife of actor Fredric March) was mentioned in a conversation. . . ." Some reports indicated that FBI agents were inside the Russian Embassy, chronicling minutely but confusingly the diplomatic life therein.

At the week-end the Republic still stood.

Chambers - Hiss

THE FBI had no easier time of it in New York. It seemed that the judges were staging a demonstration of independence.

Holding court on the 13th floor of the Federal Court House in New York's Foley Square, Judge Samuel Kaufman dealt fairly, not kindly, with government witness Whittaker Chambers, until recently a senior editor of **Time** magazine. Chambers held the stand all week and offered a modest list of his own. He classified as "Soviet spy couriers" Alger Hiss, Julian Wadleigh, Ward Pigman, Vincent Reno and Harry Dexter White. All were closely identified with the New Deal.

White had been Undersecretary of the Treasury. He died of heart failure last August after an exhausting session with the House Committee on Un-American Activities, to which he was brought by charges preferred by Whittaker Chambers.

RED YALTA. Hiss had denied Chambers' charges, and on Chambers' testimony was indicted for perjury. The case transcended the naming of names, the up-dating of FBI files. To many Alger Hiss, who had been with Roosevelt at Yalta, symbolized the New Deal, the peace policy of Yalta. Those who termed Roosevelt's progressivism treasonable would rejoice in Hiss' conviction.

The prosecution admitted that "if you do not believe Whittaker Chambers, we have no case against Alger Hiss."

In court last week Hiss' attorney, Lloyd Paul Stryker, paced before the jury box. He had highly polished scorn. He pinned Chambers with a sharp: "Yes or No," then changed his pace from gentle irony to bitter reproach.

"SPARE MY FRIENDS." Chambers admitted that he had perjured himself on seven different occasions. He agreed he had been dishonest, even traitorous. When faced with apparent contradictions in his testimony he said he had tried to hurt communism while sparing his friends. He had formerly regarded Hiss as such. Now, he said, he was "neutral."

Said Stryker: "Don't you recognize that your explanation is merely another piece of perjury, a sham and a fraud, bearing in mind that you denounced him three months before as a concealed enemy of the United States?"

"I do not," Chambers murmured.

The Army's new secretary

Nothin' could be finah than a Fuehrer from Ca'linah

By C. W. Fowler
PHILADELPHIA

WHEN Louis Johnson, ex-Legion chief, became Secretary of Defense he announced to a press conference that segregation of Negroes in the armed forces was over, but definitely.

The announcement brought cheers from the pro-Truman Negro press. On the strength of it, NAACP leaders dropped a court suit to prove the unconstitutionality of army jimcrow.

Last week President Truman made another announcement. He had nominated Gordon Gray of Winston-Salem, N.C., to be Secretary of the Army under Mr. Johnson. Johnson approved.

GOOD CONNECTIONS. Who is Gordon Gray? He is a power in the North Carolina state Democratic Committee. He owns Winston-Salem's best radio station, WSJS, and its two newspapers, the **Journal** and **Sentinel**. One of the papers has a little corner called "Negro News" or sometimes, more baldly, "Colored News." Both print the word Negro with a capital "N"; neither has a union.

In Winston-Salem Gordon Gray's connections are as good as you can get; they run right into the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., manufacturers of Camel cigarettes and bitterly anti-union. Last year Reynolds made $34,000,000 profit; laid off and replaced with white workers 1,800 Negroes, some with 15 or 20 years' seniority. Reynolds makes a net profit of around $3,200 on every worker's annual labor. Seasonal workers (all Negroes) do well to average $900 a year.

GORDON GRAY

Gray's father was chairman of the Reynolds board for many years' A Reynolds worker would have to work 135 years to equal the chairman's salary and bonus for one year. Gray's brother Bowman is a Reynolds director. Directors average better than $60,000 a year—the equivalent of 64 years of a worker's earnings.

HE FITS. Reynolds workers have a union, Local 22 of the Food and Tobacco Workers, CIO. In 1947 they struck against average wages of around 70 cents an hour.

Gordon Gray tried to break the strike through a smear job on the union in the Un-American Activities Committee. He tried it through personal intervention with national CIO. His chief staff writer, an ex-FBI agent, dug up three stoolpigeons (from among 10,000 strikers) to "testify" against Local 22. His editor said publicly that the two papers would end the strike "if he had to bust the union to do it."

Since that time the company, and the papers owned by the son of its late chairman and the brother of one of its directors, have consistently incited Negro-white friction to keep the workers apart and to continue the exploitation of both. The company, to Gordon Gray's applause, has refused to recognize the union.

GRATEFUL HARRY. As army secretary, Gray will be responsible to Johnson and Truman for enforcing the order against segregation. His appointment—like the senatorial appointment of Graham of Chapel Hill—is a payoff to North Carolina for staying away from the Dixiecrats in the election.

Graham, who has gone right down the jimcrow line in his few Senate speeches, is for continuing segregation in Federal aid to education. He and Gray make a fair team for the Fair Deal.

Medina week

ON the ground floor of the building at Foley Square, Judge Harold R. Medina continued the trial of the 11 leaders of the Communist Party. Each morning three of the defendants—John Gates, Henry Winston and Gus Hall—were escorted to the courtroom under guard. Each night they were led back to jail, forced to change from street clothes into prison denim. They shared a cell with five others.

Gates, editor of the **Daily Worker**, is under a 30-day sentence for refusing to list other Communists who are not involved in the trial. Winston and Hall were remanded without bail for the duration of the trial for voicing their protests in court.

Prosecutor F. X. McGohey cross-examined Gates most of the week. He dug into the records to show that Gates once falsified a home relief record, on another occasion falsified a document to get to Spain where he fought for the Loyalists.

Gates said heatedly: "Whatever I said, I did it to get to Spain to fight for democracy and keep the war from coming to the United States. . . . The first thing in a man's life that takes precedence over everything, is the welfare of his country."

EVIDENCE. On another occasion Gates readily admitted that he had compiled a list of recommended reading on which Stalin's **Foundations of Leninism** ap-

Continued on following page

Continued from preceding page

peared. The prosecution thereupon introduced Stalin's book in evidence and read at length from it to the jury. An observer trained in legal procedure remarked to GUARDIAN that it was curious that John Gates should be charged with what Stalin quotes from Lenin.

Of the jailings the expert said: "Medina slipped on a legal banana peel." Gates claimed that to answer the question put to him would incriminate him. Such grounds are invariably proper ones for a refusal to testify. In the cases of Winston and Hall, the judge might have signed an order committing them to jail. Instead he ordered their bail revoked—which is improper except in the case of capital crimes, the expert said.

Gratitude

Word came from Toledo, Ohio that pictured more clearly than ever the type of witness called by government heresy-hunters. William Cummings had testified to the subversive activities of all communists. He named as a communist Charles Clark.

Clark is the chairman of the Progressive Party of Lucas County, Ohio. He said: "During the Wallace-Taylor campaign Mr. Cummings came to the Progressive Party office and volunteered his services just as hundreds of other people did. . . . In August of 1948 Mr. Cummings lost work because two of his sons contracted polio. The Progressive Women immediately gathered and delivered a large order of groceries to the Cummings' home.

"Mr. Cummings reported to the Progressive Party that polio victims at Maumee Valley Hospital were not being cared for properly due to a shortage of nurses. The Progressive Women immediately contacted Dr. Hartung and volunteered their services gratis during the polio emergency. . . . They risked themselves and their families in order to help those children, Mr. Cummings' children included. . . .

"This statement by Mr. Cummings is completely false, and is nothing but a vile attack upon my family, my union, the Progressive Party and my candidacy for election to City Council in November."

Another Eisler

ON yet another floor in the courthouse at Foley Square Hilde Eisler and Peter Harisiades were brought from Ellis Island.

The courtroom was empty save for a handful of lawyers and two or three spectators. The press concentrated on the Hiss trial upstairs. Pickets ringed the building, but they were protesting the trial of the Communist leaders on the ground floor. In the welter of crises these two seemed forgotten.

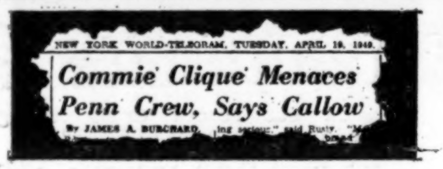
Both Harisiades and Mrs. Eisler were appealing for release on bail. Harisiades is a veteran trade unionist, an official of the International Workers' Order. Deportation would send him to Greece, probably to prison, perhaps to death.

Attorney Carol King pleaded that he be freed so that he could support his wife and two children during the deportation proceedings. Judge Bondy showed scant patience with arguments of the government attorneys. He remarked that one human being wrongly deprived of his rights or liberty did more damage to our democracy than a communist wrongfully released on bail. He reserved decision.

"NO TIME TO ACT." Slim, pretty Mrs. Hilde Eisler came next. Three and a half weeks ago she had been arrested in front of her house, shortly after her husband Gerhart stowed away in the Polish ship Batory. She has been held on Ellis Island ever since. Attorneys for the Department of Justice complained that they were understaffed and had not had sufficient time to act. Mrs. Eisler, they said, was not "a privileged character."

How much time would the department consider reasonable, the judge asked. The government attorney said carelessly: "Three weeks, a month, two months."

The attorney contended that Mrs.


NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM, TUESDAY, APRIL 19, 1949.

Commie' Clique' Menaces Penn Crew, Says Callow

By JAMES A. BURCHARD

Eisler was a poor bail risk because she had once said she would fight for the right to remain here with her husband while his case was being tried, and for the right to leave the country with him. The lawyer said that since she was so anxious to leave she might sail before she could be deported; therefore she should be confined.

Judge Bondy said Mrs. Eisler's sentiments could only be called "admirable." Mrs. Eisler, he said, was no criminal. If she was not released in 10 days, he said, he would grant another hearing.

THUD. FBI men swarmed about the pier to which the Batory had returned; the House Committee on Un-American Activities held open hearings and held three more witnesses in contempt for failing to discuss their political affiliations. For once the committee was overshadowed by more spectacular witch-hunts elsewhere. President Truman endorsed the witch hunt in the schools. The U.S. Office of Education stepped up its "Zeal For Democracy Program." Elizabeth Bentley added 37 new names to her list. One of these was "Cedric Belfrage, British Intelligence Service, New York." (From 1941 to 1943 Belfrage was doing confidential work for the British government in New York and was duly registered by that government with the State Dept.)

Belfrage reply

The following letter was sent by Cedric Belfrage on June 8 to the editors of the New York Times *and* Herald Tribune:

On Monday, June 6, you reported that a Miss Elizabeth Bentley had sent my name to the Senate Judiciary Committee as one of a "team" of Russian espionage "couriers" during the war. The story about this privileged and nonsensical libel by Miss Bentley came from the Associated Press.

On the morning of that same day the Associated Press telephoned me for a statement, which I gave them. It was to the effect that I had indeed been a member of a team during the war, the aim of which was to win the war; and that I had been unaware of the existence of Miss Bentley until she appeared in the headlines in connection with other similar denunciations.

The AP sent this statement out but you chose not to use it.

Do you not think that this process of blackening under privilege the characters of people who are total strangers to the "denouncer," and who are denied any opportunity to reply, has gone far enough? Do you intend to continue cooperating with it?

Sincerely yours,
Cedric Belfrage

In California Jack Tenney of the State Senate Committee on Un-American Activities released a 709-page report naming hundreds of persons red-tinged or double-dyed. These included Thomas Mann, Dashiel Hammett, Burgess Meredith, Norman Corwin, Anna Louise Strong and Dorothy Parker.

Over New York the Air Force exhibited a much ballyhooed new photo flare. It turned out to be a gentle glow, a puff of smoke and a noise like a Roman candle. But little was said about the flop. Duds had been dropped in higher places.

WASHINGTON WEEK

"You said it—do it!"

WEDNESDAY was "Keep Your Promise Day" in Washington: 3,000 one-day lobbyists mustered from 45 organizations in seven New York counties by the American Labor Party were in town to remind the President and Congressmen why they had been elected.

Cops met them at Union Station at noon, split them into small groups, ordered no singing, no shouting.

At three o'clock the President looked out of his windows to see himself picketed. "We Can't Back Up A President Who Backs Down," the placards said.

STAGGERED HACKIES. The lobbyists' list of demands was the Democratic Party's campaign platform. Where was Taft-Hartley repeal (see **Labor week,** page 8); where were public housing, national health, minimum wages, Fair Employment Practices, anti-lynch laws, social security, aid to education, farm support, all the bright pledges?

All afternoon the lobbyists went calling, saw some Congressmen, missed others. House Labor Committee Chairman Lesinski ducked out of an appointment he had made; Senate Labor Committee Chairman Thomas was too busy on the Senate floor.

One delegation went to the Justice

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

HOUSE GROUP VOTES FOR SWIVEL CHAIRS

Department to demand that the trial of 11 Communist leaders be called off. A minor official offered sympathy: "It creates pathetic hardships, but that's life."

Late in the afternoon there was a rally at the Washington monument. Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) told them only a "coalition of all anti-fascist forces" can defeat "quasi-fascist conditions" presently existing.

Ben Warman, delegate from GUARDIAN's Newspaper Guild unit, reported:

By one who knew him

The face in the picture on Whittaker Chambers' wall

Dr. Carl Binger, psychiatrist, sits each day at a table near the witness stand at the trial of Alger Hiss. He has been hired by the defense to study Whittaker Chambers. Others too have studied Chambers. These are the notes of one who knew Chambers well enough to remember him vividly.

I FIRST met Whittaker Chambers in 1933 when, as I subsequently learned, he was a kind of white-haired boy in the American Communist Party. I was a free lance writer and I came into contact with him when he was editor of a radical weekly magazine. I was struck by two things about him right away: one was his conspiratorial way of talking in so soft a voice that nobody else in the room could possibly have heard our discussion, and the other was his extreme friendliness. As I got to know him better he grew more and more emphatic on the necessity of my joining the Communist Party and becoming a Party writer.

I was not a politically-minded young man, and it seemed to me to be enough to write the truth as I knew it. But Chambers said it was not enough to be a radical writer—I had to be a Party writer, and to do that properly I had to be a member of the Party.

FACE ON THE WALL. One night he invited me to his house in a remote suburb. To my astonishment there was a big picture of Hitler hanging in his room. I asked him what was the idea, and he said: "Well, I never know when my room will be searched. It's just protective coloring."

In the course of the evening and the next morning he told me, one: that he might have to go to the Soviet Union in a hurry, and two: that he was thinking of studying chemical engineering at Columbia, that being, as he said, a high-priority subject for his kind of work.

Just what his work was he didn't make clear, and from his veiled references and mysterious behavior and frequent admonitions to me not to talk so loud because others might hear, I was quite baffled. I didn't know whether he was kidding me, kidding himself, or telling the truth. I didn't know whether he liked being an opera bouffe character or whether he was really covering up. At any rate I didn't know why he was being so mysterious with me, since I wasn't asking anything and I wasn't trying to discover anything.

The Gazette and Daily, York, Pa.

The Class of 1949

The free and unfettered press

Honest reporters at Mindszenty trial smeared; MacArthur muzzles leftist Japanese papers

THE clash between "Western" and "Eastern" notions of freedom of the press was resumed last week, when 12 "journalistic experts" met under UN auspices at Lake Success. Western representatives talked of an "international code of honor," and a memorandum was introduced from a "Federation of Free Journalists of Central and Eastern Europe" dedicated to the liberation (western style) of the press of "Soviet-dominated countries." Stevan Dedijer, Yugoslav representative, immediately protested against such concepts of "freedom."

Further light on these "Western" concepts is provided in recent reports from GUARDIAN correspondents in Budapest, Tokyo and Moscow.

When Cardinal Mindszenty's own words and appearance at his trial clearly refuted the "drug" and "torture" stories of the Western press, a campaign began to discredit the correspondents who covered the trial.

Free speech in Japan: Japanese Communists gathered for a rally back of the Tokyo Municipal Hall. They overstayed their permit time — and this is what happened to them.

AT BEST, DUPES. From the British radio and the U.S.-controlled Austrian radio, editorialists took up the charge that "only Communists or Communist sympathizers" got press cards to the trial; next, that they could not write what they wanted; and finally, that if they weren't "Communists" they were "duped by Communist translators."

To these charges all the correspondents signed a joint denial, except UP's Edward Korry who said he wasn't allowed to sign declarations of any sort and Gabriel Pressman, a youth fresh from journalism school claiming to represent the **New York Times.** (The **Times** used UP and AP trial reports and dispatches frim Vienna, the Vatican etc.—no Pressman stories). Declaring that he could not personally know that none of the correspondents was "red," Pressman took off for Vienna to collect "incriminating information" from the British press attache there.

DANCING GIRLS. In Switzerland the **Neue Zuercher Zeitung** "exposed" the "red" correspondents in a front-page editorial, and went on to give the reason why no-one could report accurately on Hungary: the Hungarians sapped their integrity with unlimited good food, good liquor and lovely women.

Another theory came from the Paris **Epoque,** which simply punctured the eardrums of one of the trial correspondents, Michael Burn of the London **Times.** Burn, said **L'Epoque,** was (1) a "Communiste" and (2) stone deaf. [He is neither].

The slander campaign was taken up in the U.S. correspondents' home offices; at least one man was advised officially that he had been described as a "Hungarian propagandist." Some attempts were even made to bring anti-Semitism into the campaign against the correspondents.

Under Tokyo beds

In Tokyo, where a U.S.-model "Un-Japanese Activities Committee" is being discussed, the spread of "red" ideas among writers and artists was shown by the reaction to a **Sekai Hyoron** (monthly magazine) poll. Among all those polled, Bunshiro Suzuki, editor of **Reader's Digest** Japanese edition, was almost alone in understanding the need for such a committee.

Deeply concerned, Gen. MacArthur's Civil Education and Information Section has devised a plan by which the circulation of the Communist daily **Akahata** would be reduced from 100,000 to about 20,000. Its essence is simply to allocate newsprint to party publications according to the distribution of seats in the Diet. Though strongly opposed by the Socialists and other minority parties as well as the Communists, this reform is expected to go into effect by midsummer.

KRAVCHENKO AND LOVE. The "Western" free speech concept is further introduced to the Japanese by censorship of all radio scripts at least a week in advance, and of plays such as a series of anti-war skits recently planned by trade unions. Other measures designed to protect the Japanese from "insidious concealed aggression and infiltration" (as it is called by U.S. political adviser William J. Sebald) include the introduction from America of Alexander Barmine's book **One Who Survived,** Kravchenko's **I Chose Freedom,** and Liebman's **Peace of Mind.**

In addition to **Time, Life, Newsweek** and **Reader's Digest,** the following magazines illustrating the American way of life went on sale to the Japanese in May: **Master Detective, Photoplay, Sport, True Story, True Detective, True Romance, True Experience** and **True Love.**

Voice of Britain

In Moscow GUARDIAN's Ralph Parker attended the press conference given by Archibald R. Johnstone, former editor of the British government publication **British Ally,** who resigned in protest against the hate-spreading policy he was ordered to follow.

Johnstone pointed out that even liberal press reports in England on his resignation skirted or ignored the issue: war or peace. Only the London **Daily Worker** had published his statement in full, and a White Russian had been put up by the BBC to "reply." Explaining why he had to resign his citizenship to speak effectively for peace, Johnstone said:

"Would I, as a free born Briton, with special access to the facts, have been given the freedom of the BBC air as was that White Russian 'Voice of Britain?' Doesn't Bevin & Co.'s much-publicized freedom of speech boil down to this: the little man has absolute freedom to speak to half a dozen friends; the big man, with interests directly opposed to those of the little man, has absolute freedom to mislead the millions to suit his own ends?"

NO MINSKY IN MINSK. Shortly after this Eddy Gilmore, Associated Press' man in Moscow and a correspondent of long-tested objectivity, sent in an account of Moscow today describing the night life ("no strip-teases"), the sports events of all kinds attended by tens of thousands, the magnificent ballet and theater, the home life, the skyscraper building projects and the intense activity everywhere. Few AP-franchise papers carried it; the **N.Y. Herald Tribune** published it under an editor's note warning that "it is not the full picture . . . this should be read with the thought that the things left unsaid may share importance with the things said."

"Even the taxi drivers were staggered. Those Congressmen who wouldn't see us, heard us. Those who didn't hear us will hear about us."

Committee fission

Under baking kleig lights, ringed by newsreel cameras, hemmed in by rows of microphones, the bigtime investigation of Atomic Energy chief David Lilienthal wrangled along last week without turning up any conclusive proof of "incredible mismanagement."

Instead, the investigators themselves (the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee) split down the middle on two issues raised by Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R-Ia.), the man who made the charges.

Was a shipment of a microscopic quantity (1 millicurie) of radio-active isotope iron 59 to the Norwegian Defense Establishment a violation of U.S. law? Was Sen. Hickenlooper's attempt to reveal security reports on atomic energy personnel permissible?

Hickenlooper insisted the isotope shipment to Norway was illegal. Experts testified it wasn't. Speaking as a lawyer, committee chairman Brien McMahon (D-Conn.) said: "There is no legal re-[illegible]t on exchange of information on th[illegible]es."

But the committee was making the headlines: from coast to coast big black type made it appear that foreign spies were swarming over our atom secrets and were even receiving them officially by mail.

MAGIC. In a Sunday speech at Michigan State College Lilienthal denounced "bewitched and jumpy men" who "throw themselves into the protective arms of a mysterious bomb. They seek to solve the world's problems not by work, not by hard, clear thinking . . . but by what in their hysteria and fright they believe to be black and secret magic—the atom bomb."

During the week Secretary of Defense Johnson wrote a letter denying the military wanted control of atomic energy. "We have plenty of jobs of our own to handle," he said. But a lot of hell was being raised over civilian control.

Pact's progress

It took longer than expected, but it was unanimous when it came: on Monday the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved 13 to 0 the 12-nation North Atlantic Pact. Commented GUARDIAN's Max Werner: "It is only a fleeting shot in the arm. . . . We have no strategy."

The committee's report urged quick ratification and took great pains to remove all possible opposition. Rejection would have "disastrous consequences abroad," it warned, but then went on point by point to minimize U.S. obligations. It would not increase or decrease Presidential or Congressional powers.

Asked at a press conference if the Pact empowers the President to send armed troops to foreign nations, Connally replied the President could send forces to "strategic bases wherever they might be." He thought Senate debate on the treaty might last two weeks.

MORALLY REARMED. Last week majority leader John W. McCormack (Mass.) pitched a fast one through the House. He introduced a resolution to send five Congressional "observers" to Switzerland to attend a World Assembly of Moral Rearmament. Everybody was looking the other way; it passed without a dissent.

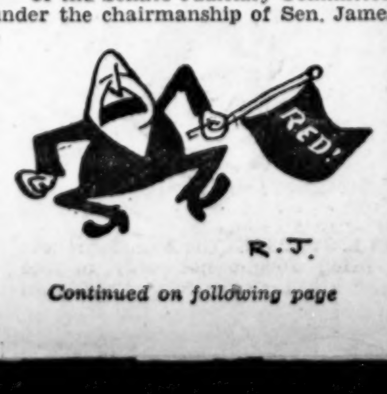
Before they knew it five Congressmen were on their way—at public expense. One of the selected junketeers was at the airport with a packed bag before he knew where he was going. Three of the other four, according to their secretaries, didn't know what Moral Rearmament was.

The junket cost $5,200 for transportation alone. Minority Leader Martin told how he chose Republican "observers": "Just walked down the aisle and slapped Earl Wilson on the shoulder and asked him how he would like to go to Switzerland. Earl said 'fine,' and I told him to go home and get packed."

Moral Rearmament is a world movement, "the answer to any ism," founded on "honesty, purity, unselfishness and love," headed by 71-year-old Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman who once said: "Thank God for Hitler." Nazi Minister Rudolf Hess and Vikdun Quisling were both Buchmanites. In 1944 Dr. Buchman was thrown off the Princeton campus for preaching "sex exhibitionism." His movement has always had wealthy supporters.

Gentleman from . . .

ON FRIDAY morning a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, under the chairmanship of Sen. James



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O. Eastland (D-Miss.), held a special hearing on the Mundt "anti-subversive" bill. The witness was C. B. Baldwin, secretary of the Progressive Party.

The hearing opened with the usual first question: Are you now, or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party? Baldwin said that before he would answer he would insist on an explanation of the background of the question.

It was asked, Eastland said, because the government was considering the problem of whether the Communist Party was dedicated to the violent overthrow of the U. S. government under orders from a foreign power. Therefore, the question was vital.

MATTER OF CONSCIENCE. "I would be glad," said Baldwin, "to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, and I would particularly want the 14th and 15th Amendments included. I doubt whether you could take such an oath with a clear conscience." [The 14th Amendment says that citizenship rights are not to be abridged; the 15th guarantees equal rights for white and colored citizens.—Ed.]

Eastland signaled for the police to remove Baldwin. Baldwin asked to leave a statement protesting the Judiciary Committee's description of the Progressive Party as Communist-run. Eastland waved vigorously for the police.

Baldwin exclaimed: "For 15 years you have fought every measure that would have helped the Negro people. You are a servant of the Cotton Council."

Eastman yelled:

"You're a g—— d—— son of a b—— and a g—— d—— liar."

Baldwin was rushed from the august hearing room.

LABOR WEEK

Hot Taft-Hartley

THE Senate storm over the Taft-Hartley Law was on, but so far only the wind was blowing; the lightning and the rain would come later. The oratory began last Monday, but the big speeches were mainly for the record and for mailing to the folks back home.

The issue no longer was outright repeal of Taft-Hartley and reenactment of a modified Wagner Act as promised by the President; it was a matter of bargaining and compromising to save as much face as possible. Administration leaders had already committed themselves to at least five Taft-Hartley amendments to their repeal measure. These were: (1) requiring non-Communist affidavits; (2) requiring unions to file financial statements; (3) making union refusal to bargain collectively an unfair labor practice; (4) giving employers the right to campaign against unions; (5) granting the President specific powers to seize plants in "national emergency" strikes.

Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-Ohio) wasn't opposed to these amendments. But he had his own strategy: he would stand by while Democrats weakened their own bill with compromises, then he would toss in his own substitute bill retaining all of the Taft-Hartley Law but the name. He was counting on some 15 Dixiecrats to line up with Republicans.

JOHN L. STEPS IN. The fight for repeal was being fought not only in the Senate: a bitter struggle was raging in U.S. trade unions. John L. Lewis, chief of the United Mine Workers (independent), sent a telegram to all Senators in which he quoted "current reports" that AFL President Green and CIO President Philip Murray "have secretly agreed with certain Senators to accept at least four oppressive amendments" which would "perpetuate government by the injunctive process. . . ."

"If such reports are true," Lewis said, "they constitute a foul betrayal of American labor by Green and Murray, as well as a pusillanimous compromise. . . ."

This was tough talk. But Bill Green shrugged it off, admitted he supported the amendments and said there was no secret about it.

Murray replied with a telegram of his own to all Senators. He called Lewis a "rule-or ruin" leader and his charges "false and malicious libels." But nowhere did he specifically disclaim CIO support for the amendments, including the one on plant seizures. Neither did he deny that CIO officials had backed similar provisions during House action on the Taft-Hartley Law.

The 'labor front'

There were charges of betrayal on broader trade union issues too. The United Farm Equipment Workers (CIO) told its membership that decisions of the recent CIO Executive Board represent "the first time in the history of the modern American labor movement that some of its major leaders have undertaken to establish a fully regimented labor front."

The executive board, it said, had reversed earlier demands for Taft-Hartley repeal and "agreed to crippling amendments and a shoddy bill of goods far short of repeal. . . . The new 'CIO policy' not only calls for turning tail on Taft-Hartley, but for compromising with those who have sold out labor."

"SUICIDAL DISUNITY." The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union (CIO) issued a similar statement in which it warned that "suicidal disunity in CIO must halt abruptly. Autonomy and the rights of the rank and file must be restored. Dictatorship and bureaucracy must end." It called for "repeal of Taft-Hartley—not acceptance of government by injunction."

The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers sent its own telegram to all Senators protesting that the "government seizure proposal means surrender to government by injunction."

"Period of inaction"

On Wednesday John L. Lewis put on a little more heat: he "suggested" that 450,000 coal miners stop work June 13 for one week in what he called "a brief stabilizing period of inaction." The period of inaction would coincide with the beginning of his contract talks with coal operators and U.S. Steel.

"Stabilization" was not just a phrase. Lewis meant that periodic stoppages when stockpiles are high serve to stave off lay-offs and spread the work. President Truman wrote Lewis off as a "headline hunter."

Lewis' announcement caused a tumult in the Senate. The "liberals," Senators Thomas, Humphrey, Ellender, Sparkman, all deplored the action. It would make it harder, they said, to head off some kind of injunctive clause. But they seemed to seize upon it with too much alacrity, like men desperately seeking an excuse.

Meanwhile John L. Lewis was hit again for his uncompromising defiance of the Taft-Hartley Law: on Monday a U.S. Court of Appeals upheld fines against Lewis and his union totaling $1,420,000. This was for ignoring a court order last year issued under the Taft-Hartley Law directing Lewis to call off a month-old strike in the soft coal fields.

Anti-Mundt

On Thursday, June 16, in the Hotel Brevoort, Fifth Ave. and 8th St., New Yorkers will take the first organized step to defeat the 1949 Mundt-Nixon Bill.

Under the chairmanship of Councilman Stanley M. Isaacs, a group of leading citizens have sponsored a conference against the police state legislation.

They include: Dr. Algernon D. Black, Louis B. Boudin, Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan, Olin Downes, W. E. B. DuBois, Osmond K. Fraenkel, Rev John Howard Lathrop, Robert S. Lynd, Michael M. Nisselson, Paul O'Dwyer, O. John Rogge, Mark Van Doren, J. Raymond Walsh and James Waterman Wise.

Headquarters are at 1050 Avenue of the Americas. Observers and individuals are invited to attend. Registration $1.

"Business is so bad we may have to start laying off my relatives. . . ."

Bridges: new blasts

FRESH attacks in the Harry Bridges "fraud" and "perjury" case—some open, others veiled—served to link more closely the government's spreading attack on political non-conformists with the Taft-Hartley onslaught against the entire progressive labor movement.

In Hawaii, where Bridges' militant International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has thus far resisted every shipowner effort to break its wage strike, the Hawaiian Bar Assn. sent up a trial balloon: It charged that the ILWU strike in the islands has paralyzed the economy and is a "Communist" stratagem. A Department of Justice spokesman announced the charge was being investigated.

The strike's leader, Henry Schmidt, was indicted with Bridges and ILWU vice president J. R. Robertson, head of San Francisco warehouse wage talks, which are in a critical stage.

THE SPECULATION. Two questions were in the minds of CIO rank-and-filers: (1) what would rightwing Murray leaders do about the Bridges case, which heretofore has rallied united West Coast CIO support?; (2) what is the "club" which the Bridges defense

counsel has announced the government is holding over its principal new witness, ex-state CIO secretary-treasurer Mervyn Rathborne? Rathborne resigned three years ago and has announced he will testify for the government.

On Thursday Bridges was arraigned in San Francisco's Federal District Court. He asked for a delay to mid-August because his attorney, Richard Gladstein, was occupied in the defense of the Communist leaders in New York. Judge Michael J. Roche refused.

Waterfront revolt

NEW York City's waterfront is one of the toughest in the world; gangsters, gamblers and goons live well off the docks and the men who handle the cargoes. Not many people argue with the shadowy powers that control this underworld; those who do usually get a quick hole in the head.

Three months ago Joe Ryan, boss-for-life of the AFL International Longshoremen's Union, began to put the squeeze on one of his own locals, 968 in Brooklyn. All but 10 of its members are Negroes; suddenly there were no jobs for them. Last March 7 the local posted a small picket line in front of Joe Ryan's Manhattan headquarters at 14th St. and Eighth Ave. The pickets picketed but nothing happened.

Last week the men were getting hungry and desperate. The Harlem Trade Union Council pitched in to help, called for a mass picket line to surround Ryan's headquarters 24 hours a day till the right of Negroes to work on the docks was restored.

"NO RIGHTS." At noon on Monday hundreds of New York workers turned out to man the line. At about the same time 38 members of 968 walked into Ryan's big meeting room, announced they would stay there till Ryan met with them. They stayed five hours; then a corps of muscle-men, with cops on hand, tossed them out.

One goon said to one Negro who had been forcibly ejected: "Had enough?" The Negro replied, "I've got a right to work." The goon laughed. "You've got no rights," he said.

All that night the picket line kept going outside. At 9 in the morning there were about 400, with placards. Word went out from Ryan's headquarters to stop work on the docks. Longshoremen began moving in from both rivers. By 10 A.M. newsmen counted more than 2,500. The men gathered in front of the T. J. Oakley Rhinelander II Post of the American Legion directly across the street. Somone shouted: "Let's get those guys."

FRATERNAL TRIBUTE. The battle didn't last long. Pickets, many of them women, were outnumbered seven to one.

When it was over Joe Ryan appeared, led his men to a small park a block away, praised them for their "Ameri-

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canism." Several others spoke. One said: "We don't debate issues with communists. We knock their God damned heads off."

When King Ryan returned to his office there were admiring callers. They were Lorens Hagen, president of the Federation of Trade Unions of Bavaria, and Hildegard Pfister who travels as a "labor expert." Both were studying waterfront labor, they said, under the sponsorship of the American Military Government of Germany. They had brought Mr. Ryan a cigarette humidor as a gift.

EAST-WEST

Don't slam the door

THE Paris residence of the new U.S. Ambassador to France, David Bruce, was the scene of a private dinner given by Secretary Acheson for Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky. There were only six guests. The time was passed in drinking and irrelevancies.

The dinner did not produce agreement on Berlin. The ministers continued to argue the basic question of the veto (i.e. four-power unanimity) in Berlin as they had for all Germany. But it did underline a fact which was concealed behind the exaggerated gloom shrouding the Palais Rose since the Paris Conference began. Peaceful public opinion has won a notable victory. The principle of contact between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. has been reestablished. There is every expectation that the Council, when it breaks up, will convene again in a short time. This conference is expected to produce a limited economic agreement, with the ministers' deputies left to work on technical problems until the next meeting of the Council.

"UNDULY IMPRESSED." The importance of Western public opinion in forcing and maintaining the negotiations was admitted by Scripps-Howard correspondent Ludwell Denny, who had

earlier conceded that the West didn't want agreement.

Acheson hasn't walked out of the conference, he wrote from Paris, because of "public opinion in Western Europe and America. People want peace and an end to the cold war." Despite official warnings, he added, "people in the Western countries generally seemed unduly impressed by Russia's 'peace' move lifting the Berlin blockade and requesting this conference for a friendly settlement.

"Any act by Messrs. Acheson, Bevin or Schuman which Allied public opinion could misunderstand as slamming the door on Russian 'peace' feelers would hurt us and help Prime Minister Joseph Stalin."

This may explain the subdued anti-Russian note of Ernest Bevin's address to the Labor Party conference at Blackpool. Bevin dominated the conference, to which he flew from Paris for a brief appearance. But his statement on Greece, backing the Royalist government to the limit and declaring that so long as intervention in Greece continued, the U.S. and Britain must remain there to protect Greece's integrity, was received in cold silence by the delegates. He hinted also that Britain would like to mediate the China War, if it could still be called a war. If not he was interested in trade, he said.

If Western statesmen were unable wholly to ignore the people's demand for peace, outspoken cold war advocates were also exerting pressures.

Western Union

In Berlin U.S. Commandant Gen. Frank Howley was continuing his provocative role in the political strike of Western Berlin railroad workers against the Soviet railway administration. The strike began on the eve of the Paris Conference over a demand of the workers to be paid in West marks. Now, said Howley, who appears to have become an official spokesman for the strikers, "the chief thing is recognition of the UGO."

The UGO is a splinter union which last year broke away from the East zone labor federation at the instigation of the Western powers. It has rejected all compromise offers on wages and for a time was permitted by the western commandants to riot freely against East Zone personnel in West Berlin railroad stations.

HOWLEY'S BOYS. This week it tried again. Shortly before midnight, 200 "strikers"—one of their leaders was armed with four pistols—broke into U.S. Sector headquarters of the Soviet-controlled railroad administration. They rushed through the five-story building, hunting down East Zone personnel, ripping pictures of Lenin and Stalin from the walls.

Four angry Russian officers, arriving an hour later, drove the mob to the ground floor with bare fists. Just at that moment 100 U.S.-sector police arrived. They told the mob: "The U.S. Military Government does not want you here." The mob dispersed. Howley, who had conferred with strike leaders that afternoon, felt obliged to state they had not told him of their plans.

Western commandants charged that the Russians, in failing to settle the strike, were violating the agreement to end the blockade. A high U.S. official said the West would not conclude East-West trade and transport agreements until the strikers' demands were met. From Paris came word that Acheson had demanded these negotiations be completed by June 13. Vishinsky agreed.

THE WAR IN CHINA

Business is fine

SHANGHAI — Chartered accountant, preferably single, required by professional firm. Salary depending on experience, from 1,000 to 1,500 pounds plus high-cost-of-living allowance, at present equal to 50%. Good prospects.

—*Advertisement in "The Accountant," London.*

FOR the Chinese, prospects had never been better. In Japan things were looking up, too. Supreme Allied Commander Douglas MacArthur could not keep Japanese businessmen from the market place. The head of the Foreign Trade Division of his Economic and Scientific Section, R. W. Hale, admitted: "There are Chinese businessmen and some third party foreign traders presently discussing trade with north China and action is expected soon." He added sternly that the relations would be "strictly commercial."

Strictly commercial but thriving was the trade that traveled in ships across the bay to British merchants in Hong Kong.

Progressives on the march

Ex-GIs fight dime ferry tax in New York; Texans sign up for peace; a great lady mourned

THE man on the ferry had never heard of such a thing: the nice looking young couple just wouldn't pay their fares. He called a cop. Mr. and Mrs. Paul Heller spent eight hours in a clink.

Last week in court on disorderly conduct charges it turned out they knew what they were doing: former American Labor Party Congressman Leo Isacson, now an ALP attorney, had advised them and several other residents of North Brother Island to ride the ferry free.

A DIME'S A DIME. North Brother Island is in the East River between Rikers and Randalls Islands. It is a

State emergency veterans' housing project and its 1,500 residents are GI Bill students and their families. On GI Bill allowances of $105 a month, a dime for ferry fare is a dime less for something else.

For a long time the North Brother Island ferry had been free. But when the property was leased from the city by the state for veterans' use, a ten-cent fare was inaugurated. Lawyers argue now that it is unconstitutional. Vet residents are so broke they're willing to risk jail to fight it.

On June 12, 1,500 student-vets were to meet to demand the fare be lifted. On June 15 Isacson will represent them at a hearing in Bronx Magistrates Court.

Wrath in Detroit

In Detroit Coleman Young, executive director of the Progressive Party of Michigan, read angrily through the second of a series of articles in the Detroit **News** by one Col. James C. Crockett. The colonel was rewriting history in favor of Hitler and the Nazis. Coleman Young had enough. He wrote a letter to the editor: "The second in your series of articles . . . is so subversive of peace and truth that it compels immediate reply." In one, two, three order he answered the colonel's points. Then he sent copies to everybody he could think of and suggested they make their views known to the Detroit **News.**

Often enough democracy and peace are served with an old typewriter and a 3-cent stamp.

Texans want peace

In Houston, Tex., Herman Wright knew that something had to be done about the international situation. He wrote an open letter to the Administration and the Congress, sent copies to Dean Acheson, Senator Tom Connally (a Texan) and the President. In it he said: "We seriously hope that you will take into account the strong desire for peace felt by the people of Texas."

He got 100 prominent Texans to sign it.

Oklahoma argument

In Oklahoma City Carl von der Lacken, state director of the Progressive Party, thought a debate on the Atlantic Pact would do some good. He found an opponent, Dr. Waldo E. Stephens, chairman of the Oklahoma City Foreign Policy Assn. Last week they were offering to argue the issue under the auspices of any organization. Newspapers called it "a program unique in the annals of Oklahoma City public discussion."

Isabel Gonzalez

Forty-nine years ago Isabel Gonzalez was born in a poor shack in Las Cruces, New Mexico. She worked her way through the New Mexico College of Agriculture. When she won a scholarship to a famous medical school in the East she couldn't accept it because she didn't have train fare.

In early New Deal days she was a field representative of the National Youth Administration. Later she was a public health worker for the Colorado Tuberculosis Assn. The health, housing and employment conditions of Mexican-Americans in Denver infuriated her; she quit her job and ran as an independent for the City Council in an election still remembered for the way she exposed local evils. Defeated by the Democratic machine, she set up a Committee for the Organization of the Mexican People, wrote a pamphlet, **Step-Children of a Nation,** which got nationwide attention.

When the Progressive Party came along, she organized and headed Amigos de Wallace, a powerful force in five southwestern states. Early this year she founded the National Assn. of Mexican Americans, gave it all the time she could spare from a school teacher's job in a little New Mexico town called Madrid.

Last week Isabel Gonzalez died. They mourned her from the mountains to the deserts.

DEPORTATION FOUGHT. But the fight against the oppression of Mexicans in America goes on. In El Paso County, Texas, the mimeographed **Border News-Letter** put out by the Progressive Party was campaigning against the drive by the Immigration Service to deport 250,000 Mexicans.

INTERRACIAL DUDE RANCH. Last week, in the mountains of New Mexico, 18 miles from Taos, a new dude ranch set up business. But this one was different: operated by Craig Vincent, recently head of the Progressive Party in Colorado, San Cristobal Valley Ranch will be inter-

racial. Earl Robinson, famed composer and balladeer, will direct social and cultural activities. There is a summer camp for children 7 to 12. Prices are $40 a week, $75 for couples; special rates for families. Kids pay $120 for four weeks. Address: San Cristobal Valley Ranch, Box 214, San Cristobal, N.M.

Paul Robeson in Prague

They sang back to him

By George Wheeler

PRAGUE

IT was hard to say whether Paul Robeson was more pleased with Prague or Prague with Robeson.

For the Czechs it was a change to talk with an American who said he liked to see the working class running a country. For Robeson it was relaxing to be in a country where no one of his race was barred from any facility, where people not only welcomed him but rushed to shake his hand on the street or in restaurants, and where the press applauded him instead of "Scandalizing My Name."

Robeson sang for the current Music Festival, sang for factories where the blue-shirted Czechoslovak youths sang right back to him, sang at press conferences, sang to a huge gathering of 15,000 in the hockey stadium (the proceeds to go to students in colonial countries). But for him and for the Czechs it was more important when he spoke. He kept his pledge to make his concerts count for peace and freedom; so he spoke and explained as he went.

INTERNATIONAL SONG. An enthusiastic father could not restrain himself during "My Curly-Headed Baby" and rushed out with his two year old. When Robeson picked up the tiny smiling child, the audience roared approval. After he sang "Chee Lai," a Chinese girl gave him the flowers she had received for singing a song to Mao Tse-tung.

ROBESON in PRAGUE
No window dressing

At a press conference, Robeson said that the best the forums in America could promise him was that it would take 500 years for his son to achieve full equality, while the socialist governments were able to do it over night. The eyes of a father burned while his towering frame made emphatic the words of the towering intellectual: tangible evidence that racist ideas are bunk.

GUTS AND VISION. Exceptional Negroes can win a life of comfort even in a jimcrow country, said Robeson. Therefore, he said, now is the time for these fortunate few to refuse to allow themselves to be used as window dressing to cover what is done to the Trenton Six and to 14,000,000 others.

Certainly Robeson spoke of the future and his own course of action with a courage and clarity which suited the Czechs more than it did some of the diplomatic representatives present. Before he sang the "Four Insurgent Generals" he said that very soon Spain would be free and Franco would hang. That is characteristic of his confidence.

It is characteristic of his courage that he said—in the presence of State Department officials—that he spoke not only for the Negro people of America, the West Indies and Africa, not only for the Progressive Party, but also for the America of the 11 Communist leaders on trial.

Pots and pocketbooks

Let 'em eat shortcake!

By Charlotte Parks

DURING the Great Depression one of the largest churches in the world in a great American city had draped across its facade this sign: STRAWBERRY FESTIVAL 25c. And underneath in small letters: "Prunes will be served."

It was recognition of the fact that strawberry shortcake is one of America's great contributions to civilization. Every patriotic American housewife should serve it at least once a year—just to show what the American Dream can really be!

BISCUIT VS. CAKE? Like Gulliver's Big-endians and Little-endians there be some who think you can put three berries on a store cupcake and call it strawberry shortcake. But the GUARDIAN, being 100% in its traditions, stands by the use of biscuit dough. Some cooks like to bake their biscuit dough in a pie dish. Others like individual biscuits. Both ways are good. Try this:

DeLuxe Biscuits

¼ c. shortening
2 c. flour
4 tsp. B.P.
½ tsp. salt
1 egg
⅔ c. milk

Mix shortening into flour with fork—or thumb and finger-tips—very thoroughly. Add egg and milk beaten together to form a soft dough. If you want to save on "cleaning up," use a large piece of floured waxed paper. Roll dough about ¼ in. thick, cut with cutter or floured glass and place on cookie sheet. Put a dab of shortening on each biscuit. Put another biscuit on top. Brush top with the egg and milk mixture if you want shiny brown tops. Bake ten to twelve minutes in a pre-heated hot oven.

When taken out, separate the two halves with light hand.

Cover the bottom layer with half the berries, which have been previously hulled and mashed or quartered. See that there is plenty of juice. Place second layer on top of this. Then cover with remainder of berries. The same process holds with the individual biscuits.

DON'T BE STINGY. Use more strawberries than your conscience will allow; at least a pint to a person. Serve with cream, whipped or plain; some people think it's the berries with just the berries.

Books for progressives

By Ralph Peterson

As a service to readers GUARDIAN will publish from time to time "basic book" lists on various subjects, of which this is the first. If you want a list of basic books on some subject, send a card listing subject(s) to Book Editor, NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

BASIC BOOKS ON CHINA

Red Star Over China, by Edgar Snow. Random House, $2.50; Modern Library, $1.25. First story to come out of Red China in 1938; still the best history of the movement that has won the country in 1949.

The New Democracy, by Mao Tse-Tung. New Century, 25c. Program and platform of the Chinese Communist Party.

China's Destiny, by Chiang Kai-shek. Roy, $3.50. Unofficial translation of Chiang's personal **Mein Kampf,** written before he knew his own destiny—with long commentary by Philip Jaffe.

The Unfinished Revolution in China, by Israel Epstein. Little, Brown, $3.50. Splendid overall picture by a progressive writer "who has probably seen more of China than any other person writing in English."

China in the Sun, by Randall Gould. Doubleday, $3.50. Best general history of modern China, by a Shanghai editor equally critical of Japanese co-prosperity and of the Kuomintang.

China, edited by H. F. MacNair. California, $6.50. One of the sturdy "United Nations" series; combines writings of a score of experts on all aspects of Chinese history, culture and economics.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Flameproofing at home

INCREASING accidents in recent years from flammable clothing and household decorative fabrics have led to the development of several commercial flame-retardant products.

These processes and products, however, are comparatively expensive. You can make a simple flame-proofing preparation yourself by dissolving a pound of borax and 13 ounces of boric acid in two gallons of hot water and letting it cool. Most clothing items need merely be dipped into this preparation, but thick, heavy fabrics should be immersed for at least 15 minutes. When you press fabrics so treated, use a cooler iron than usual.

CARE WITH COOKING. Not all fabrics or clothing need to be flameproofed. Wool clothing is not particularly flammable. But fabrics with a long pile are dangerous—such as brushed rayon robes worn by many women, often while cooking over gas burners.

One of the most shocking series of accidents in recent years was the burning to death of several small boys who had been wearing cowboy suits with chaps made of long, brushed rayon pile. In another case, in California, a little girl wearing a plastic raincoat backed up against an electric heater. The coat burst into flames and the girl was burned to death.

Besides long-piled napped rayons and cottons, and "unsupported" plastic film, other highly flammable fabrics include very sheers often used in summer dresses.

WHAT IT DOES. The home-made solution suggested above, like many of the commercial preparations, must be renewed after each laundering. It does not affect wearing quality but simply makes fabrics a little stiffer, as though given a very light starch.

Attempts by retailers to get Federal regulations preventing sale of dangerously flammable fabrics without clear warning so far have been blocked by the cotton industry. The manufacturers say the problem is not so widespread or severe as the retailers assert. They insist regulations would discourage sale of some fabrics. Meanwhile, California has enacted its own legislation regulating the sale of flammable fabrics.

Sale Catalogs

IT'S hard to get a catalog from Sears Roebuck or Montgomery Ward unless you've previously made substantial purchases. But you can get the semi-annual small "sale" catalogs easily enough by writing or calling the nearest order office of the mail-order firms. It's these sale catalogs that offer the best mail-order values, and provide a convenient guide for comparing offerings of local retailers.

Ward's summer "sale" catalog now available shows price reductions from 10 to 40%, with the largest slashes on textiles, especially rayon prints. Another reasonably-priced offering is a tank-type vacuum cleaner reduced to $36.95, including attachments.

GOOD SHEET BUY. Both Ward's and Sears offer 128-count muslin sheets, 81x99, at about $2, one of the lowest prices currently available, except for values offered by the J. C. Penney & Co. chain, and some department-store private brands.

Outstanding in the Sears sale catalog is the Coldspot refrigerator, now lowest priced in the country at $168.95 plus shipping charges, for the 7.3 cubic foot size.

Also offered by both firms are the first postwar price cuts on linoleum floor covering.

Shopping question

COOKWARE: *"One manufacturer claims that stainless steel enables food to retain vitamins, and that aluminumware to a certain degree is poisonous."* —H. M., Houston, Texas

Aluminum and enamelware are considered the two most satisfactory types of cooking utensils because they conduct heat more evenly and quickly than stainless steel, unless the latter has a copper bottom. Aluminum is harder to clean than enamelware, but if it's fairly thick it's more durable.

Health authorities say that any minute particles of aluminum which may be absorbed into the food are not poisonous. In fact, the Federal Trade Commission last year ordered one distributor of stainless steel utensils to refrain from telling customers aluminum is poisonous. As for retention of vitamins, all you need is any type of pan with a tight-fitting cover so foods may be cooked with a minimum of water.

"Doesn't make any noise except a low moan of delight as you eat it."

Chicago dateline

'...rent strikes will result...'

By Rod Holmgren

CHICAGO

THE Cook County Rent Advisory Board this week wound up four long evenings of landlord and tenant testimony for and against a blanket countywide rent increase. With three weeks left before the July 1 deadline for filing its recommendation on the proposed increase to Federal Housing Expediter Tighe Woods, the Board had before it a record of this testimony:

- President W. A. P. Watkins of the Cook County Fair Rent Committee said a blanket boost of 92.5% would be required to restore landlords to their 1942 position. But Watkins said his group is "only asking for a blanket increase of 45% on the theory that eventual removal of control will restore a fully normal balance."

- Kendall Cady, leading witness for the Fair Rent Committee, was billed as vice president of the Real Estate Research Corp., but was also disclosed as a Chicago Real Estate Board executive committee member and an official of the Fair Rent Committee itself. Cady's "research" questionnaire was sent to 60,000 landlords, but total "usable" returns numbered only 597.

- Dr. Philip M. Hauser, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, called Cady's survey "unreliable and biased." Hauser also said the Advisory Board's own survey of rent conditions, which found 1948 net operating incomes 11.3% lower than 1942, used defective techniques.

Ma's the star

James Edwards, Negro actor who has the lead role in **Home of the Brave,** currently breaking all records at the Woods in downtown Chicago, returned to nearby Hammond, Ind., for a visit last week. The papers gave more space to news about Edwards' mother, Mrs. Anna Riley. Reason: she received her doctor's degree in theology at National Baptist Institute in Chicago. She leaves shortly for Africa for missionary work.

- Sidney Ordower, Progressive Party legislative director, pointed out more than 80% of the county's landlords have got sizeable rent increases since 1942. Ordower quoted a letter by Tighe Woods showing Chicago's rent index has been higher than that of 34 other large cities since 1942. Said Ordower: "The September, 1947, rent index for the 34 cities was 113.6, a 5-point increase from 1942, while the Chicago index increased 14 points to 127.6."

- Ordower and Jack Rosen, executive secretary of the Cook County Tenants Federation, both called attention to large-scale illegal "hidden" increases, and to more than 150,000 substandard dwellings in the heart of the city, "where gouging is terrific."

Ordower warned: "Tenants simply cannot pay more rents and if a raise is granted, rent strikes will result in many communities."

When in Rome just yell 'Sieg Heil!'

Marshall Field's **PM** once ran an article about O. John Rogge, who as U.S. Asst. Attorney General prepared a secret report on fascism in America. Rogge was quoted as connecting Mrs. Elizabeth (Lizzie) Dilling, now Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling Stokes, with the German-American Bund. The then Mrs. Dilling promptly filed a $500,000 libel suit against Rogge.

Albert Dilling, Lizzie's ex and still her attorney, told Federal Judge Igoe this week that he could not prove his case and asked dismissal of the suit. The judge complied.

Dilling may have been influenced by the fact the defense was prepared to introduce an affidavit by Sigrid Schultz, retired Chicago **Tribune** foreign correspondent, that in 1938 Mrs. Stokes gave the Nazi salute at a party rally in Nuernberg, Germany.

Mrs. Stokes readily admitted the truth of the Schultz affidavit. "I was just doing in Rome what the Romans do. After all, in England I stand when they play 'God Save the King.'"

West Coast wire

How subversive can a chicken get?

GENIAL ex-professor Samuel M. Wixman, 49, who gave up the hurly-burly of having political opinions on the campus of Los Angeles City College to raise chickens in sunny San Fernando Valley, is on his way to the United States Supreme Court again.

Last week, or the second time in two years, the same federal judge—Paul J. McCormick—for the same reason, denied Wixman's application for citizenship.

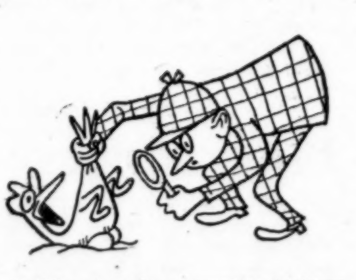
And for the second time also, Wixman, backed by the American Civil Liberties Union, appealed to the nation's top court.

McCormick, in a strangely blunt ruling even for these times, declared Wixman had failed to prove himself innocent.

HORRIBLE THOUGHT! Said His Honor: "Professor Wixman has not established in my judgment that he was not affiliated with Communist organizations. . . ."

Wixman, who in 1934 made a speech criticizing "capitalist" ownership as a possible factor in depressions and giving a leg up to "collectivism," had denied Communist affiliations.

He had also declared himself less critical than in 1934 and convinced that "the form of government here is the best in the world." A native of Russia, Wixman was brought to this country when 7, educated at Yale and the University of



California; he taught history and economics at City College from 1929 to 1940.

IT IS ALLOWED. Two years ago McCormick denied Wixman's application on grounds that the former professor believed in collectivism. But the U. S. Supreme Court sent it back for further study, when U. S. Solicitor-General Philip B. Perlman gravely ruled that a belief in "collectivism" was within the "permissible area of thought" for prospective citizens.

However, Perlman obligingly left the door open to McCormick's second decision by stating Uncle Sam would frown upon a genuine "communistic" affiliation.

To bolster this, the government introduced into the new hearing testimony unfavorable to Wixman by one of its stand-by "ex-Reds," John L. Leech, one of the numerous witnesses thoroughly discredited in the anti-Bridges case years ago by Dean James M. Landis of the Harvard Law School.

BARNYARD BANTER. Leech's tale in the old Bridges hearing was characterized by Landis as "evasionary, contradictory, pathological . . . a screen of verbiage . . . unique."

In the midst of a bristling barrage of questions shot at Wixman, a government interrogator demanded of the former professor:

"What are you doing now?"

"Raising chickens," Wixman replied.

"What for . . . ?"

"To lay eggs."

Report to readers

Figures of speech —and circulation

"STRIKE," a subscriber of ours named Lewis Allen DeViney of Los Angeles once advised us, "with the logic of facts on the anvil of time; and the sparks will illuminate the wisdom of centuries!"

Bold indeed is the word-slinger who would venture to mix a metaphor like that with the down-to-earth facts of the circulation of a newsmagazine; but we at the GUARDIAN are feeling pretty cocky this week. We are the fastest-growing newsweekly in the U.S.A.)in fact we hear we've the only one that's growing at all) and we're going to tell about it no matter whose metaphor gets mangled in the mixer.

On May 2 we struck the anvil of GUARDIAN circulation with the hatchet of a price cut—from $4 a year to $1 for 40 weeks, four trial subs for $1 and a special discount deal for Charter Subscribers based on their subscription credits.

In addition to illuminating the wisdom of centuries, the ensuing sparks even lit up Manhattan Island one night here lately, causing news reports that the air forces were trying out a new photoflash gun of theirs.

BUT more to the point, we smote the anvil and struck a vein of pure manna (is this mixture getting too strong for you?) to the tune of a cool 15,000 new subscribers between May 2 and June 10.

The month of May brought in 8,000 new subscribers, an increase of 500% over the average for several previous months. The first ten days of June have added 7,000 more and the chain reaction is just starting.

For example, a spot check shows that only about 15% of Guardian Associates and subscribers with subscription credits (this probably means YOU) have converted their credits into new GUARDIAN readers. Everybody got a letter on this, maybe two.

NOW, if you will just dig out that GUARDIAN letter —and the postpaid reply envelope—your own GUARDIAN subscription can immediately blossom forth at least two for one, maybe more.

If you don't do this by, say, July 4 or Labor Day latest, we're going to usurp your credits ourselves for a couple of projects proposed to us last week by a reader with big ideas but only a $5 bill.

"Take this five-spot for a starter," he wrote, "and send the GUARDIAN around to a list of dentists' offices and barber shops. This is your big chance to take over the readership of both the **National Geographic** and the **Police Gazette.**

"If anybody wants to argue over substituting this week's GUARDIAN for the July 1913 **Geographic,** he ought to have more than his teeth examined. And as for the barber shop, who's going to differ with a guy with a razor in his hand?"

Yours for a million weekly wallops on the anvil of time,

John T. McManus

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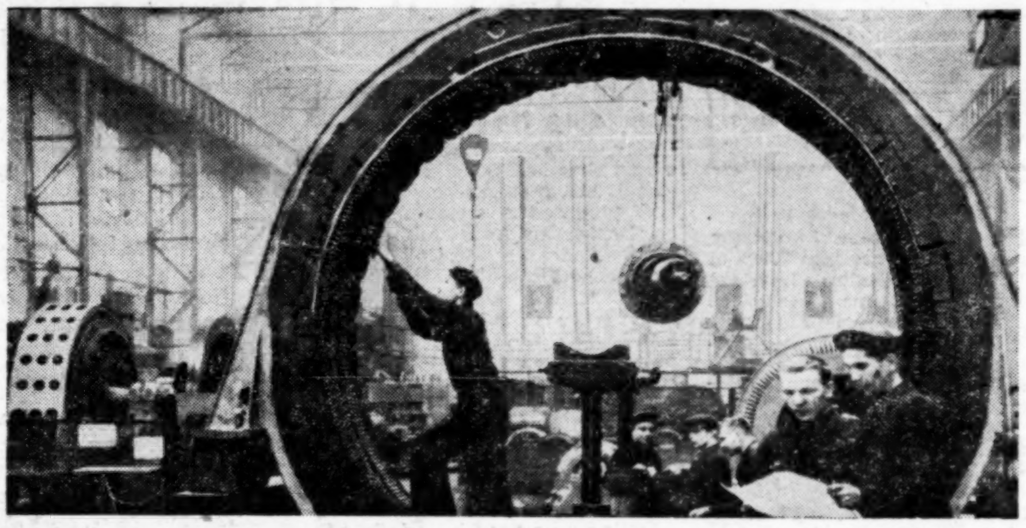
"One buck for honest news"

Four American working stiffs take a look at Europe

From July 12 to Oct. 7, 1948, four delegates of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, nominated by the locals who were urged to choose "alert observers not biased in any way," toured Europe to see "how it looks to rank and file unionists." They were Herman Stuyvelaar, San Francisco ship's clerk; Julian Napuunoa, Honolulu longshoreman; Jovan Zuber, Oakland warehouseman and Donald Brown, Coos Bay, Ore., longshoreman. Stuyvelaar's knowledge of German and Dutch, and Zuber's knowledge of Slav languages, made it possible for them to check information thoroughly by talking with ordinary, casually-met workers. Here are extracts from their just-published Report from Europe *(ILWU, 150 Golden Gate Av., San Francisco 2; 108 pp., 50c).*

WE do not consider ourselves experts. But we have had long and varied trade union experience, and we think we can tell labor bureaucrats from bonafide leaders, good labor laws from bad ones, and a well-fed worker from a half-starved one. Of course, we have the bias of trade unionists. When we found something we thought was good for workers, we thought it good, period.

No sharp lines can be drawn between any of these countries as if to say, this one is socialist or communist and this one is not. Every country we visited was trying to work out its problem in its own way, and each was fiercely proud it was on the right track. We also found that what is good and what is bad for each country cannot be judged according to American standards.



Russian workers assembling a powerful synchronous engine in a heavy machine shop at the Kirov electric works in Leningrad, the great Baltic port.

NO RED HORRORS. As for the Iron Curtain, it simply was not there, at least for us. We got the same sort of warm and open-hearted reception from

workers in both western and eastern Europe. Unions reportedly run from Moscow turned out to be bonafide national organizations with vast followings, which accept Communists as members and leaders without fear and without prejudice, on the same footing as members of other parties. Europeans suffer far less than we do from the "red horrors."

Peace is the most urgent need and plea of European workers, in all countries without exception. None of them wants to be dragged into a war over the issue of communism. They look to the American working class as one of the strongest forces to prevent it.

SOLIDARITY. The strength and power of the labor movement, united and cooperating on an international basis, was brought home to us in very concrete terms.

We believe those U.S. labor officials who worked to divide the World Federation of Trade Unions have done a great disservice to us and workers everywhere.

Italy

WE had been impressed with the contrast between poverty and plenty in France, but here it was much more extreme. There are beggars everywhere — most of all dirty, skinny little kids who spend their lives in the streets. These are the children orphaned by the war. In contrast to the poverty of the workers, there are many millionaires left in Italy, with vast holdings in land and industry.

As we got into the port of Civitavecchia—a mass of rubble —we immediately saw posters on the walls: "Welcome American Longshoremen," "Long live the ILWU-CIO." The union officers presented us with a huge bouquet of carnations. It is the longshoremen who are trying to rebuild the port with no help or encouragement from the present government. They have already built two cranes which is all the equipment they have. Everything else is done by hand.

Everywhere we went, we found the workers to be skeptical about the kind of help they would get under the Marshall Plan. They told us that America sent them olive oil—to Italy, which produces more olive oil than any other country in the world. They do need food, but they don't want it in the form of spaghetti, which they did receive.

Yugoslavia

MOST of the people here, in contrast to Italy, seem to be happy and everyone we talk to is confident of the future. As one man on the train put it: "My wife complains sometimes she doesn't have a decent pot to cook in, but we'll have pots and pans and clothes for everyone by the time the five-year plan is ended."

What France and Italy have apparently been unable to do, Yugoslavia is doing in the face of equal or even greater hardship, and without Marshall Plan aid. Most of the vital war damage has been repaired; factories, railroads and mines started up; new schools and hospitals built. Prices are under control, goods are being distributed under a strict rationing system, they have medical and pension plans that really work. There is no unemploy-delegation of longshoremen from Harry Bridges' union, he invited us to his retreat in the Slovenian mountains, where a swell lunch had been prepared for us. Tito is a very congenial, friendly fellow with a warm

ment.

WON'T LET GO. "It's too bad," people said, "we can't get more machines and equipment from America, but we don't want any interference in our elections, like they got in Italy. We fought the Nazis for four years to win our freedom, and we intend to keep it."

When Marshall Tito was asked if he would receive a

smile and a great sense of humor.

We do not consider ourselves experts on the matters discussed between the Yugoslav Communists and the Cominform, but the workers and peasants of Yugoslavia have a deep respect for the Communists of their own country, who played a leading role in the anti-fascist resistance. At the same time, they respect the Soviet Union, whose soldiers fought side by side with them in the war of liberation. They have no fear of Russia, whose armies went home after the Nazis had been driven out. And from what we have seen of the independent spirit of the people, it is hard for us to believe they could be easily led by any possible pressure to give up their hard-won freedom and their new way of life.

Soviet Union

OUR impressions were of a people and a country friendly, courteous, hospitable; extremely able and intelligent leaders in government, industry and trade unionism; hard at work to do a job for their people. They are not out of the woods yet by any means; they go without many things that are daily habits with us on the West Coast. But they are get-

ting there if only this country will be left in peace which the people of the Soviet Union so richly deserve.

We have heard of no one that wants to go to war. When meeting people we often feel ashamed at the disgusting slanders and lies that are daily peddled over the radio and in the press in America. It is completely contrary to the facts.

The Russian workers we talked to had a "live and let live" attitude. They don't approve of our capitalist system

but we saw no signs they want to come over and change it for us.

THEY KNOW THE SCORE. We saw nothing to indicate that Russian workers live in fear and trembling, kow-towing to a bunch of dictators in the Kremlin. They have the air of men and women who know what they want and how to get it. That does not mean they

are satisfied with what they have. They beefed plenty to us. They realize their standard of living does not approach ours. But do they believe their system of socialism is bringing improvements faster than any other system could.

You know how the AFL hierarchy never tires of saying that in Russia the trade unions are not free. Well, if in the AFL, and we are sorry to say in a good many CIO unions, they had one tenth of the democracy that prevails here, the Greens, the Tobins, the Hutchinsons, the Jim Careys and all the other barons in American labor would have to look around for honest labor. The trade union set-up here is even more democratic than in our own ILWU; everyone in an official position is chosen by secret referendum.

Holland, Belgium

ON the surface Holland gives an impression of neatness, cleanliness and prosperity. But the black market is very much in evidence, and beggars and prostitutes are on the streets. It was disheartening, too, because of the lack of unity among the working people; a four-way split in the labor movement shows its effect upon the condition of the worker.

From the standpoint of equipment and efficiency the ports of Amsterdam and Rotterdam rank among the best, but the shape-up prevails, wages and overtime pay are low and there is no such thing as preferential union hiring.

In Holland the voices of decency and sanity are very weak; press and radio are as venomous as anything in the U.S. and possibly more so. Talk about an iron curtain: practically no voice or word for peace or sanity can penetrate this solid wall of "concrete."

SLIGHTLY COOL. From the union angle, the picture in Belgium was just about as discouraging as in Holland. The leaders of the General Confederation of Labor were not much interested in talking to us. We called on them in Brussels. Our reception there was quite cool. The fact that we were just rank and filers did not impress them. But we received a friendly and warm welcome from officials of the Dockers' Union in Antwerp.

The cost of living is very high. Press and radio are as vile as can be read and heard anywhere. But happily the people we met do not fall so easily for the warmongering propaganda.

England

WHEN we presented ourselves with our WFTU credentials at the Trades Union Congress headquarters in London, we did not receive what one would call a warm reception. We were told the TUC could not receive us as we lacked proper credentials from Phil Murray. Here four ordinary American workers were not considered kosher.

But the dockers seem to be the same the world over, friendly, good-hearted guys willing and ready to be of help.

Conditions for the workers are tough, but they are on the move. When we told a group of them about our campaign to make Hawaii the 49th state of the Union, they laughed and said: "What, didn't you know we are the 49th state?" There was a strong feeling among the workers that the war hysteria

stemmed from the U.S., and many of them said to us: "If America wants war, let America fight it! We've had enough."

SOCIAL SECURITY. The most outstanding accomplishment of the Labor government, to us, was the new social security scheme. It gives coverage to literally everybody; it even included us. When we arrived, we were given a card entitling us to free medical services.

In spite of the fact that the workers don't like a lot of things about their present situation, they have not abandoned their traditional loyalty to the Labor Party. They don't like to see their party leaders knuckle under to Washington and Wall Street. But while some of them grumble and try to change these policies, they have enough discipline and faith in the party's ultimate goals to put up with quite a lot to see that it gets a fair chance.

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